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252 462 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *wale iuta* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 261 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 958 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

252 262 The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods of eating and preparing are:

1. The sweet husk of the *oumapolo* is chewed (*ngaumapou*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *oukowouko* is baked (*oukowouko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*oulko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *outa* and *hotikati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu outa tao* and *niu hotikati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu hulohulo* from the *niu outa*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *hulohulo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pure*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu outa* is also made *ipu niu hulohulo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu outa* is cooked on hot stones (*niu outa tunu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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252 12. *Wawa tuwa pukapuka.* Peeled corms are placed on heated oven stones (*iwa wa pu*, the oven that has been burned) and allowed to cook for an hour or more. They are served with *ipipi*.

13. *Wawa tuhituhi tuwa.* *Wawa tuwa pukapuka* is placed in a bowl, grated *yuhali* nut flesh is added, and both are pounded until well mixed. *Lolo* is added to the mixture and the food is served in shells. The dish is considered very rich and is not often made.

14. *Pikopiko.* Very small, young talo corms/ets (*pikopiko*) are peeled with the fingers. The corms/ets and their petioles are broken into small pieces, placed in banana and *puapua* leaves, covered with *lolo*, and baked.

15. *Pota ulukou.* The outer skin (*hili*) of talo petioles is stripped off. The petioles and young leaves are shredded into small pieces, wrapped in *puapua* leaves, and baked. The food is then placed in a bowl, grated (*pipi* (*ota*) is sprinkled over it, and the whole pounded together. Coconut water is added and the food served in *ipu*.

16. *Pota ulukou puaka.* When available, layers of pork fat are alternated with layers of petioles and leaves, and the whole baked in leaves. Before serving, *lolo* is poured over the food to make a rich, flavorsome dish.

17. *Tingapuia.* Young talo petioles are peeled, broken into small pieces, and placed on *puapua* leaves. *Lolo is added*, the packet tied as for *lolai*, and baked.

262 252 *Pulaka* is considered less tasty than talo and is only eaten when the flavor of talo becomes tiresome or when talo supplies are low. Most of the dishes made from talo are also made with *pulaka*, excepting *pikopiko*, *poke*, and *pota ulukou*. The talo dish called *lulu* becomes *tuo puku pulaka* when made with *pulaka*; otherwise the names are the same, for example, *lolai pulaka* and *nuwu pulaka*.

251 Uncooked talo is buried in the ground near the cook house for preservation. It will keep thus without rotting for about three weeks. Talo brought from Motu Ko in large quantities is treated in this way. Cooked talo or fish, left over from one day to the next, is preserved by baking in a fresh oven. It is placed in the oven overnight or kept in a basket tied to the cook house rafters overnight and placed in the oven on the next day. Large talo puddings have been known to last for a week or more without the *lolo* in them curdling (*vi*), simply through being reheated day after day, though after much reheating the puddings get hard and lose flavor. The 251 unusual thing about such preservation is that the puddings should remain 261 so long uneaten. This occurred however after island fishing feasts. One family got a very large share of talo from the division and then had a very bad week for fish, catching practically none. Without fish for a food complement, they could not eat the pudding and so kept on preserving it in the hope that the men of the household would soon get fish.

251 For reheating, talo puddings are either wrapped in *pulaka*, banana, or *puapua* leaves (*yuusi hi te lau pulaka ma*), or tied up in coconut leaflets (*tahai hi te lauuia*). The leaflet packet is preferred when a well-browned pudding is desired. Pairs of coconut leaflets are stripped from the midrib. One leaflet is twisted lengthwise round the packet, the second widthwise, and the packet fastened securely. To make them more pliable, the leaflet ends may be first heated over a fire.

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262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai*, *pala*, and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Ave* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

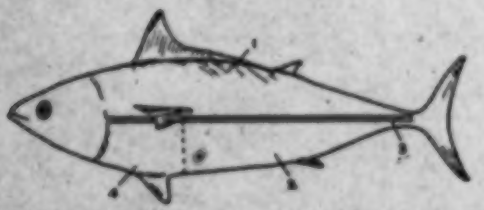

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io*; 2, bottom sides, *io alongo*; 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*wolowolo*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tunu*) and oven-baking (*tao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*upaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *kalowa*, are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish
261 is preserved by sun-drying (*unkala ki te la he pukapuka*). Fish that has been dried for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai*, *pala*, and *ave*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *laulau* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was
262 a taro dish. It was taqu to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawenga broke this rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawenga and then took his body to the legendary land called Valy Wetuna. It is likely that this taqu against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Yina broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*ova*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and cara-
262 pace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to
136 hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

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the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga lee*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tou*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tou* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*mati tuunga tou*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The eldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tou* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tou* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contact teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *tolo* of the

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derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second, from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*, to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wangai*, to feed). The adopting parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wangai*, the child as *tama wangai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent) have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama kokoti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wangai* living with their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wangai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*nukamama*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Taua.

The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the talo fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*yei*), decorative kilts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and as likely as not choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hanks of fishline, or sennit of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, sown dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for
261 special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus keys, flying fish, or *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *kaevu* crab meat gives her child crooked legs; eating *tupa* crab meat gives her child bow legs. The body of the *kaipea* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *kaevu* crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red *labia majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful [753] about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores on many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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Eating fish with small mouths, such as *manini* or *kaleua*, produces a small mouth in the child. Eating the head of a fish with a large mouth, like the groupers, produces a large mouth. Eating a horned fish, like the *uwe*, unicorn fish, or the *kōlili*, produces a bump on the forehead of the child or a horn on its back (*tala tua*) similar to the "horn" on the back of the *kōlili*. Certain other fish, like the *ahuaku*, needle fish, the pregnant woman may eat with safety, provided she does not touch the head or the long tail. Eating a flat fish, such as the *ali* or the *pangipangi*, varieties of flounders, makes the baby grow long and flat. Eating the head of a fish with large teeth produces a baby with two very large incisor teeth. Eating a fish that has poison barbs or fins produces two bony nodules on the ankles of the child. *Pala* (*Acanthocybium*), albacore, bonito, red mullet, and snappers are considered good for the pregnant woman, but she must be careful to eat no fish which is beginning to spoil or has soft flesh, lest the skin of the child be soft and partly rotten.

In general coconuts are good for the pregnant mother provided they are freshly picked from the tree. Eating or drinking nuts that are a day or more old produces sore spots on the skin of the child, for there is the presupposition that there are slightly affected spots on the shell or flesh of a nut one day old. If the drinking nut is very old, the skin of the child will be similarly rotten. Eating a very large nut produces a child with an abnormally large head. Drinking misshapen coconuts, of which a part of the shell is concave, produces concavities on the skull of the baby. Eating or drinking of a nut from the center of a large cluster of nuts, where the nuts have been tightly packed together in growing, compresses tightly or crushes the baby's head.

Eating the young shoots of the talo plant produces in the male child a birthmark on the forehead, in the female child a birthmark on the *labia majora*. Eating talo corms with large protuberances on them produces warts on the head of the child. Eating a tuber with a double root produces a male child with two membranes (*kaleua*) on the scrotum, a female child with two membranes joining the *labia majora* to the anus. Eating rotten talo causes the eyes and navel of the child to be infected with disease, and gives the child a general physical weakness. Eating talo tubers that have been gnawed by a rat or *haipea* crab produces sores on the skin of the child.

Eating the bud shoots on the side of the pandanus key produces a child with two *pihi uaka* (cartilaginous protuberances—tragi) in front of the ear. Eating over-ripe pandanus keys produces sores on the body of the child. Eating crooked or misshapen bananas produces a male child with a very big penis or a female child with a very wide membrane between *labia majora* and anus.

Eating a bird whose wing was broken when it was caught produces a baby with weak arms; a bird whose chest was injured in the catching gives the baby a weak and diseased chest; a bird with prominent breast bones produces a pigeon breast in the child. Uninjured birds in perfect condition are suitable food.

A final class of foods that must be eaten with care is shellfish and turtle. Eating periwinkles (*alili*) produces warts (*ihonga alili*) on the top of the baby's head. *Tridacna* seems to be the only safe shellfish that the mother may indulge in. Eating the head of the turtle produces two scars on the mesial sagittal plane of the head like the marks on the head of the turtle. Eating the plastron of the turtle makes the child suffer from respiratory defects and breathe in a noisy, labored fashion after the manner of the turtle. Eating the carapace of the turtle produces a hunch-backed child. Eating turtle eggs produces a child born with a hernia. Eating the green fat of the turtle renders the child liable to be born with a perennially running nose and eyes. With the above exceptions, the flesh of the turtle is a good food for the mother to eat.

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From the list of foods that she must take care not to eat, it is evident that the ideal diet for the pregnant woman consists of the general foods of the Pukapukan diet, with the caution that they must be fresh and sound in shape. Foods that have special peculiarities of shape are undesirable because

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tanganga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tanganga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau wakayawi*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

> Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale kaitau*) for each sex. The *wale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*puipui te wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotawa* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *nuku wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki, winaki,* and *matamua,* which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yewuluwulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakauyu*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeuyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko,* stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma;* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *wai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *wai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye uilinili* (one who does not select people).

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the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*wakayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*venanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, peluia to malo, tai ake to ulu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua hewa*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pakipaki te lemu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kualaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

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that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lani*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

539 Finished. Te Malo searched inside, Te Malo looked at the roof of the house. He looked, indeed the roof of the house was crowded with fishhooks. Te Malo searched for his fishhook which had broken. He searched, searched there, finally saw it. Te Malo said to Te Totoloa, "Here is certainly my fishhook which broke off." Te Totoloa answered him, "Where?" Te Malo said, "Where?" Te Totoloa said to him, "You take it." "Yes, I shall take my fishhook." Te Totoloa said, "Pull it out." Te Totoloa also said to Te Malo, "If you take that fishhook, my sweethearts here might grow angry." Te Malo answered, "If they get angry at you, you just hug them up." Te Totoloa gave it to Te Malo. Te Malo prepared to come back.

Totoloa watched. The two of them spoke, e--e--e--it was a long time. Te Malo said, "I shall go now, don't you think? I guess my two children are waiting for me," Totoloa said to Te Malo, "Whi! I suppose your journey is far, that's no good. You climb up to the single hanging coconut of my tree there." Te Malo arose, climbed to the coconut, hit down the single nut of Te Totoloa. He climbed down. Te Totoloa said to him, "Husk it (then), you drink the water, you eat the flesh, so that you are satisfied. I guess your journey is far." Te Totoloa said to Te Malo, "When you are through eating, you take hold of the two halves of the nut, you fold the husks over the shell, you throw it up onto the tree, so that it sticks again on the spikes." Te Malo did this to the two halves, stuck the husks on top of the shell, threw it onto the tree. It stuck onto the single spike tightly. (7) Te Malo said to him, "I shall go now, don't you think? It's been long. I guess my two children are waiting for me, I suppose also they have cried, thinking me dead." Totoloa said to him, "Yes, you will go, won't you? Go then." Te Malo said goodnight to Totoloa. "Here I am going now. Sleep you well, won't you?"

Te Malo floated up to the surface, floated up, floated up, floated, straight for their canoe. He breathed on top, climbed into the canoe. His two children asked him, "Did you find your fishhook?" Te Malo said, "Where, here it is." "Where

[261] 7. Hence the Pukapukan saying applied to a person not satisfied with his share of coconuts, "Wano koe ki te niu a Te Totoloa" (Go to the coconut tree of Te Totoloa), the implication being that only on some such magical tree will the dissatisfied one find sufficient coconuts to content his desire.